

# RESTORATION QUARTERLY

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN SCHOLARSHIP

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*From the Editor . . .*

## A STATEMENT

When Professor Joe Sanders of David Lipscomb College, who tentatively accepted the editorship of the *Restoration Quarterly*, was called to other work, it was decided to carry on the *Quarterly* through a board without a general editor. It has been felt, however, that this is not the best arrangement.

When I was first approached to accept the work as editor, I declined because of the press of other duties and because I felt that others were more capable of filling the place. But since the work has been urged upon me by friends of the *Quarterly*, I have agreed to accept and with the present issue have assumed the editorship.

I do not profess experience as a editor or as a writer, but the work will receive the best that I can offer. The prayers and cooperation of all are earnestly solicited. The counsel of the fine board will be relied upon heavily. We hope to produce a journal which will be stimulating and which will merit the support of those dedicated to the restoration of New Testament Christianity.

The next number, to appear at the end of the year, will be a special issue of double size on the subject of Baptism. Tell your friends who would be interested.



# The Christian View of History

William M. Green

The Bible is largely a book of history. But it is a special kind of history, the history of God's dealings with man. Man was created by God, then sinned against him and was punished by death. God provided a plan for his restoration, calling the faithful out of the world of sinners to become his servants, his chosen people. With Abraham he made a covenant, promising that in him and in his seed should all the nations of the earth be blessed. That covenant was renewed when God called Israel out of Egypt under Moses, and gave them his law, with promises and warnings for the obedient and the disobedient. All the subsequent history of Israel under judges, kings, and foreign oppressors is interpreted as the fulfillment of God's promises, his chastisement, and his mercy. God uses even the heathen as his tools, the "rod of his anger," to scourge his perverse people. Then upon the heathen too he executes judgment, for he is the god of all the earth, and none can escape his wrath. Through his prophets he speaks, calling his people to repentance, promising them a Prince, his anointed one, who would usher in a new covenant and a new kingdom better than the old. The New Testament is the declaration that all the purposes and promises of God are fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth, born as a man from David's line, but at the same time the only begotten Son of God. He is the King of God's people, but his kingdom is not of this world. Those whom God now calls he translates out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of the Son of his love. As partakers of his Spirit they now enjoy the blessings of love, joy, and peace, even while they suffer great tribulation, but their hope goes beyond this life to the time of the resurrection, when they shall be clothed with a new spiritual body, like that of their risen Lord.

This is the Biblical view of history. There is little concern in the New Testament with the affairs of worldly powers or rulers. Jesus recognized the right of the Roman power when he told the Jews to render unto Caesar that things that are Caesar's; that is, they must pay tribute even to the hateful heathen ruler. Though Jesus assured Pilate that his kingdom was not of this world, therefore no rival of the Roman power, he also told him that he would have no power against Christ except it were given him from above. Thus Jesus reaffirms the Old Testament teaching that the Most High

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Editorial Note: The following address was delivered at a symposium honoring the fiftieth anniversary of Abilene Christian College (1906-55), held March 6, 1956, and sponsored by the Bible faculty of that institution. It is printed here as a contribution by an outstanding Christian and scholar to the understanding of the subject involved.

ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. So also Paul warns Christians: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God." Such powers are appointed as an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil, but even if they become persecutors of Christians, Christians must not be surprised, but must rejoice that they are counted worthy to suffer with their Lord.

The book of Revelation goes somewhat further. Like the book of Daniel, it presents in symbolic forms visions of the future, in which the nations of the world, kings and spiritual powers are ranged against the powers of God, until the overthrow of Babylon, the final judgment, and the descent of the new Jerusalem from heaven. The purpose of the book is to warn and strengthen the saints in their time of struggle and danger, and direct their thoughts toward the glorious end. Their hope is fixed on the return of their Lord—"He who testifieth these things saith, Yea, I come quickly. Amen: come, Lord Jesus." From ancient times until now men have tried to interpret the symbols as predictions of specific events in history. Such they may be, but the attempts at interpretation are seldom convincing; only the end is clear.

To the ancient Christians, then, the whole of history was providential, the fulfillment of God's purpose reaching from the creation to the end of the world. That purpose centers in Christ, the Alpha and Omega, in whom all things were created and in whom all things shall be finally consummated, when he separates the righteous from the wicked, and sends them into everlasting life or everlasting punishment. To the Jews Christ was a stumbling block. They were looking for a Christ, but one who should restore the earthly kingdom of David. To the Greeks it was all foolishness. They were not looking for a Christ, except perhaps in some circles where eastern ideas of a divine king had taken root, and then his kingdom was as earthly as that expected by the Jews. The Greeks rather sought wisdom by the study of natural law. They observed the regularity of the heavenly bodies and in their regular movements saw the perfect pattern of law. So on earth they studied the process of life and death everywhere recurring. Their historians likewise noted the beginnings and the end of nations and empires, and they decided that human affairs move in cycles. The philosophers extended the cycle of history to include the whole universe: the Stoics supposed that it began in fire from which the stars, the sun, and planets came, and finally the earth with its elements and living things. But the process must go on, with a conflagration in which all things return to the primal fire, and prepare for a new cycle which will be in all respects like this one.

It is interesting to compare this with the theories of today, where the scientists observe that the world is "running down" and must come to a lifeless end, and must therefore have had a beginning



when it was first "wound up." Since there is no evident power to do the "winding up," science must assume that the process will somehow reverse itself to reach a new beginning. A naturalistic science seems compelled to return to the Greek theory of cycles. So also "scientific" history, if there can be such a thing, must look for causes which will operate as the law of historical change. These laws, like those of physical science, will be verified only by repeated experiment in the great laboratory of time. The idea is Greek, as well as modern.

The Greeks were the teachers of the Romans, and imparted to them their own cyclical view of history. But in their early days, at least, the Romans were a hardy people who gave little thought to theories, but proceeded with optimistic confidence to overcome their foes with a courage which seemed instinctive, and a system of organization and law which proved equal to their needs. After the great crisis of the war with Hannibal, two hundred years before Christ, Rome stood supreme in the ancient world, and her epic poet ascribed her victory to the ancient Roman virtues and the men who embodied those virtues. But before the time of Christ things had a different look. The Roman republic came to an end in a series of civil wars which lasted half a century. The historians found the cause again in the morals of the times, when luxury and greed and corruption had taken the place of simple honesty and patriotism. The one thing needed, it seemed, was a return to the good old days, and the victor who emerged from the last civil war, known to the Bible as Caesar Augustus, was wise enough to make that return the policy of his reign. There were laws to restore the ancient ways, and a revival of religion which put special emphasis on the ancient virtues. Poets and historians undertook to support the patriotic revival and proclaim the new era. The cycle of the ages, Vergil declared, has reached a new beginning, and the Golden Age is about to dawn. However, he dared not follow up the theory of cycles, to predict another decline. He was the poet laureate, and like the hopeful politician, could proclaim nothing but good hope. So in his great epic, the *Aeneid*, he makes Jupiter promise Venus, Ancestress of all the Romans, that her descendants should reign in Rome: "For these I set neither bounds nor periods of empire; dominion without end have I bestowed." Vergil thus set the pattern of thought for imperial Rome: The emperor is the divine king who restores both the virtues and the glory of Rome, whose sway reaches to the ends of the earth, and is to last forever.

There would appear to be little reason for a clash between the Caesar thus ruling the world and the Christ who was born in Bethlehem during his reign. Christ and his apostles taught submission to authority and prayer for all rulers. There would seem to be no point of contact between Roman power and a kingdom not of this world. The state and all its officials maintained the old religion

and its idolatry—if there were no other reason, this alone prevented the Christians from taking part in government. So, near the year 200, Tertullian declares: “We are cold to every desire for glory and rank, nor is there any thing more foreign to us than affairs of state.” Pilate, Tertullian thinks, was at heart a Christian, and his report to the emperor Tiberius would have convinced him as well, if Caesars had been able to be Christians.

This lack of concern with politics and political history is characteristic of Christians generally until the time of Constantine. For the great change which then took place Eusebius of Caesarea is the most notable spokesman. He lived in close communion with the emperor and knew much of the inner working of his policy. He sat to the right of the imperial throne during the sessions of the Nicene Council, and exercised a decisive influence in framing its decisions. For him the glorious and unexpected triumph of the Church displayed the hand of God in human history. He quotes the old prophets who had predicted the reign of the Lord, when he is to exercise dominion from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth; when men shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and shall learn war no more. For Eusebius the millennium had come.

The hundred years which separates the glowing optimism of Eusebius from the sober realism of Augustine was a century of disillusionment. Both Constantine and Eusebius assumed that they had accomplished the unity of the church, and established its firm alliance with the empire, at the council of Nicea. But nothing was really settled there. The creed there adopted was a compromise, and men at once fell to wrangling about its interpretation. The Arian heresy flourished both within the empire and among the barbarians on its borders, and the successors of Constantine were inclined to favor the Arians. A schism arose in Africa which for a century separated the rigorous and fanatical Montanists from the more liberal Catholics. And, most serious of all, the safety of the State was threatened by the invasions of barbarians. Surely the millennium had not arrived. It was the year 410 when the Goth invaders under their king, Alaric, captured and pillaged the city of Rome. The shock was felt even in the most remote provinces of the empire. The learned Jerome was pursuing his studies in a monastery of Bethlehem when he heard the news, and wrote: “The whole world has perished in one city . . . My voice sticks in my throat, and as I dictate, sobs choke my utterance. The city which captured the whole world is itself taken captive.”

The old paganism, which had long been the state religion of Rome, was by now suppressed under the Catholic emperor Theodosius, and it was easy for the pagans to assert that Rome had fallen because she had abandoned her own gods. Fugitives fled to Africa, where Augustine was bishop in the seaport town of Hippo.



The people of his flock were troubled by the dangers which threatened, and by the pagan charge that the Christians were to blame. So Augustine was compelled to take up the defense, first in a sermon "On the Fall of the City." Men marvel, and some blaspheme, he says, when God scourges mankind, the just along with the unjust. Dreadful deeds were reported as perpetrated by the barbarians—massacres, burning, pillage, torture, and violation of women. But, Augustine replies, the sufferings of the Romans have been no greater than those of Job, who endured with patience, even though his wife asked him to curse God and die. He only rebuked her for speaking as one of the foolish women. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive the evil? God is a Father, who gives us both life and such discipline as is needed, for "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." None dare say that he is without sin, or undeserving of punishment. Both Constantinople and Rome have been chastened, not destroyed, and such temporal chastisement is profitable for them, that men may avoid the more severe torments of hell. Christ was arrested, bound, scourged, mocked, crucified, and slain, giving us an example of submission to God's will. He is our physician, let us accept his medicine, and let patience have its perfect work. Such is the exhortation of Augustine.

Many of the pagans were of noble birth and of high rank in the service of the emperor. Among these was Volusianus, the governor of Africa. Among his friends was an imperial official, the Christian Marcellinus, and after some discussions between them about religious matters, Marcellinus wrote Augustine, asking his help in replying to the questions Volusianus had raised, including this one of the failure of the Christian emperors to defend the state. Augustine replies that the troubles of the empire began long ago, and were due to a moral decline, as the pagan historians and poets themselves admitted. From these evils Christ came to liberate men, and now Augustine declares, the teaching of Christ was in fact checking the decline.

The pagans, of course, were not silenced by a single sermon and a letter. The problem was a large one, involving the whole issue of Christianity and paganism, and Augustine decided to undertake a full-scale defense of his faith. It was thirteen years (413-426) before the work, the *City of God*, was completed, a huge tome in twenty-two books, perhaps twice the size of our entire Bible. After refuting the pagans, and exposing the absurdity of their religion, in the first ten books, he advances his positive case in the last twelve. Of these, he explains, the first four "contain the origin of the two cities, the City of God and the city of this world; the second four contain their process or progress; the third four, the final books, their appointed ends. It is so that, while the twenty-two books are all occupied with the description of both cities, yet

they derived their title from the better city, and were called by preference, 'The City of God'."

The title "City of God" is a Biblical phrase; for Augustine it is the city of all those saints and angels who are destined to abide with God forever. Its opposite, the earthly city, or city of Satan, consists of all others. But the choice of the word "City" (*civitas*) suggests also its pagan meaning, the "City-State," which was the prevalent form of political organization in the ancient world. The city-state of the Greeks and Romans always had its own religion, its own idolatrous worship, on which the very existence of the state was supposed to depend. According to Christian belief, these gods were nothing but demons, who were seeking to deceive and corrupt the people. They sought to flatter men, promising them material success and sensual delights. Thus the pagan city-state, especially Rome, which boasted the title of the "Eternal City," offered a kind of counterpart to the truly eternal city, the City of God. But the earthly city was older than Rome, going back even to the time of Cain and Abel, or further yet, to the time of the fall of Satan and his angels; and ever since that time the two cities have been at war. "Accordingly," Augustine declares in a famous passage, "two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self. The former glories in itself, the latter in the Lord."

For Augustine the only significant history is the history of these two cities, and especially that of the City of God. That history is divided into periods, marked off by critical events in God's dealings with men. Three ages are mentioned in Matthew's gospel: from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonian captivity, and from the captivity to Christ. These are (obviously) preceded by the two ages from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham. Thus the ages from the Creation to Christ are five, and these are followed by the sixth age, which will run till the Lord's return; then will come the seventh age, the Sabbath of rest which remains for the people of God. All this is prefigured in the six days of Creation and the seventh day of God's rest. It corresponds also to the six ages of man's life: infancy, childhood, puberty, youth, manhood, and old age. God's plan is perfect from the beginning, and is directed throughout by his Providence. This includes the rise and fall of cities and kingdoms, and the tribulation which attends the changes of history. All these things work together for good to those who love God, those who are called according to his purpose, that is to the society of saints, the "City of God."

Augustine is inclined to agree with Sallust and the other Roman historians that the rise of Rome was due to the character of her people in early times: there were temporal rewards for temporal virtues. The heroes of Roman legend, heathen though they were,



had a kind of virtue which aimed at glory and fame, and for that, like the Pharisees of Jesus' time, "they have obtained their reward." So also ambition, greed, and moral corruption in later times brought ruin to the state. Still, there is no visible or precise balancing of just desserts—the good often suffer while the wicked prosper. Only by the eye of faith can the band of God be invariably seen as he executes vengeance on sinners, to their destruction, and chastises his saints, for their eternal happiness.

Augustine lived in the time of Christian emperors, and he appreciated the services which they were able to render to the church. In fact, in the course of his career as bishop, he came to believe that the state should aid in the suppression of heresy, so that in later centuries the founders of the Inquisition were able to quote Augustine in support of their cruel policies. He writes of the happiness, faith and piety of the Christian emperors, especially those whom the grateful church called Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Great. But he never speaks of a Christian empire; nor of the State as the "secular arm" of the Church, as in the Middle Ages. He advances no theories of what the State should be under Christian rulers, but rather assumes that earthly rulers and the earthly city are normally at enmity with the City of God. Its citizens are pilgrims here, seeking the heavenly city as their true fatherland.

If Augustine's view of history was a return from the political optimism of Eusebius and Constantine to the other-worldliness of the earlier persecuted church, it was followed by a return to Eusebian views in the time of Charlemagne. He was a German king who conquered most of western Europe and was crowned in Rome by the Pope as Emperor of the Romans on Christmas, 800. He felt called of God to subdue the heathen and bring them into subjection to the Catholic church. The Roman Empire was to be restored, this time a "Holy Roman Empire" which was to be the ally of the church. Charlemagne was a lover of books and especially fond of Augustine. He had a servant read to him at mealtime from the *City of God*, thinking that he could find in that work an inspiration and guide for the new era which he wished to establish.

Thus reinterpreted, Augustine became the political guide of western Europe for eight hundred years. Though Church and State were allied, there was eventually a struggle for supremacy which led to the triumph of the church under Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) at Canossa in 1077, when the emperor Henry IV submitted.

It was a grandson of Henry who became himself a churchman, an abbot and a bishop, who wrote the most memorable medieval treatise on history, "The Two Cities," by Bishop Otto of Freising. It is a chronicle of universal history, reaching from Creation to the year 1146. Like other medieval textbooks of history, it is divided on the plan of Augustine's six ages, and interprets all history as



Providential. The two cities are the two cities of Augustine. From the Creation till Constantine the fortunes of the City of God are bound up with the history of Israel and the history of the Church. The earthly city is represented by the heathen nations of the Old Testament and the Roman power which faced the Church as a persecutor. But after Constantine, and especially after Theodosius, when paganism was suppressed, the relation of the powers was changed. Then, Otto says, "I seem to myself to have composed a history, not of two cities but virtually of one only, which I call the Church . . . Since not only emperors of the Romans but other kings . . . became Christians . . . the City of Earth was laid to rest and destined to be utterly exterminated in the end; hence our history is a history of the City of Christ. But that city, so long as it is in the land of sojourn, is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, containing good and bad."

What the German bishop Otto did was thus to revise Augustine's view of history and give it a form suitable to the political situation of the twelfth century, when popes and German emperors were the spiritual and temporal rulers of Christendom. A similar task was accomplished five centuries later by the French bishop and orator, Bossuet, who in 1681 published his *Discourse on Universal History*, a book written for the instruction of the son of Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch of France, then the chief power in Christendom. His aim was to provide a rational basis for the absolute authority of the King and the Church, and to show that the course of history is invariably guided by the providence of God. God has infinite time to work out his purposes and sometimes allows the unbelievers to triumph, as when the Moslems overthrew the Eastern Empire, but all temporal events cooperate for the eventual fulfillment of his design. This is most clearly demonstrated by the history of the Jews, for it is clear that their heathen conquerors provided the discipline by which God prepared them for their mission. It is also evident in the history of the church, whose sufferings in the early centuries prepared the way for the triumph under Constantine; then the struggles with heresy and the tumult of the barbarian invasions led to the conversion and consolidation of Europe under Charlemagne and the Papacy.

Bossuet may be taken as the last great champion of the medieval outlook. In the France of his day a new spirit was stirring which led on to the "Enlightenment" of the eighteenth century and a new philosophy of history. The great spokesman of that Enlightenment, and the inventor of the term, "philosophy of history," is Voltaire. In 1756 he published his *Essay on the Manners and Mind of Nations*, a refutation of the traditional Christian view of history, especially as it had been defended by Bossuet. That bishop had begun his *Discourse* with Creation and ended with Charlemagne; Voltaire begins his *Essay* with Charlemagne and ends with Louis

XIII. For the one the guiding force in history was God, who is concerned with the calling and discipline of a chosen people; for the other it is natural law, manifest in human reason, by which men gradually become better and happier. Thus for the ancient Biblical idea of Providence there was substituted the modern secular idea of progress. Voltaire was a master of sarcasm and ridicules the old ideas of the Jews as the center of history, the earth as the center of creation, and a Providence which could allow such disasters as the destruction of Lisbon by earthquake, tidal wave, and fire. He writes:

What I admire most in the work of our modern compilers is the wisdom of good faith with which they prove that all happened once in the greatest empires of the world happened only for the instruction of the inhabitants of Palestine. If the kings of Babylon in their conquests fall incidentally upon the Hebrews, it is only to chastise these people for their sins. If a king named Cyrus becomes master of Babylon, it is in order to allow a few Jews to go home. If Alexander is victorious over Darius, it is in order to establish some Jewish secondhand dealers in Alexandria. When the Romans annex Syria and the small district of Judea to their vast empire, it is again for the instruction of the Jews. Arabs and Turks come in only to correct these likable people. We must admit that they have had an excellent education; nobody has ever had so many teachers. This shows how purposeful history is.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the leaders of thought generally followed the views of Voltaire. Historians generally avoided any commitment about the philosophy of history, professing to be merely detached observers of facts. But their outlook was nevertheless that of the modern world, that of confidence in progress. Science and invention brought an obvious increase in wealth and material comfort, at least to a considerable part of mankind. The sociologists and educators assumed that there must be a corresponding improvement in social conditions and happiness. For the French sociologist Comte, history is guided by a supreme law of progressive evolution. Mankind had by the nineteenth century, he says, passed through the theological state and the metaphysical state, and was now entering upon the positive (or scientific) state. As in the Middle Ages all the sciences had been subordinate to theology, so now all were to lead up to social physics, which will impose law and order upon the confusion of society, and create a new religion of Humanity.

In modern America perhaps the most influential apostle of the religion of progress has been the philosopher and educator, John Dewey. His pattern of thinking was well developed before the beginning of our century, and he lived on to dominate the educational philosophy of the last fifty years. He believed, like Comte, that

modern science had released mankind from its bondage to the past and launched it upon a glorious future. All the evils of our time are due to a cultural lag—our ethical science has not caught up with the natural sciences. As late as 1947, when Dewey was 88 years old, he could argue that the deplorable behavior of nations was due to the incomplete emancipation of the intellect, and a failure to apply the scientific method to the solution of human problems. To the schools he would assign the task of completing our emancipation from authority. But it would seem that the tide of thought has now changed against the emancipation for fifty years proclaimed by progressive educators, and in favor of those disciplines, both intellectual and moral, which in the past were the foundation of such progress and such stability as our society has known.

The theologians of modern times have not been immune to the influence of the idea of progress. It has often been maintained that the modern idea of progress is only a secularized form of the Christian hope for the future, in the progress of the kingdom of God, with science now assuming the role formerly assigned to Providence; certain it is that liberal theology has gone far to identify God with science, or with natural processes, and to adopt a social gospel which is nearly, or entirely, identical with sociology and social welfare, if not with socialism or communism. As a representative of this school I choose a man who, like Dewey, outlived his generation. Shirley Jackson Case was once dean of the divinity school at the University of Chicago, and editor of the *Journal of Religion*, both positions of the first rank in American theology. In 1943, when he was 71, we wrote in his book, *The Christian Philosophy of History*: "The world is overflowing with creative power. It is a living universe, and in its vital energy one may feel the presence of the living God . . . The urge of the human race toward cultural advance and the pursuit of moral and spiritual ideals suggest to the thoughtful observer that there is some force in nature inspiring these efforts . . . The growth of righteousness, like all other manifestations of vital development in nature, is by increments so small that they can scarcely be seen with the naked eye; yet in the course of time the cumulative result may be almost colossal. History to date is also reassuring. Even the cautious observer realizes the tremendous spread of moral and spiritual interests over the earth during the last two thousand years . . . What has been accomplished in the last twenty centuries is prophetic of vaster gains in the next twenty or 30, or 100 . . ."

But neither Dewey nor Case are spokesmen for our generation. The view of history which they still held in the forties was current in Europe until the first world war, and common in America until the second. But today we are more realistic, and with that realism there has been throughout the world a return, in one form or an-



other, to the views of Augustine. Reinhold Niebuhr says, "Augustine was, by general consent, the first great realist in western history." He understood that all men are sinners, that the earthly states are built on self-love, or pride, which sooner or later leads to destruction. At no given moment can the future be predicted, but certain it is that love of earthly things leads to frustration and despair.

I have chosen six books written in the last twenty years, dealing with the Christian view of history. These seem representative of all the major creeds and of most of the major nations of Christendom. All are indebted, more or less, to Augustine, and all reject the idea of earthly progress as a guiding force, or explanation of the changes of history. The first is by the Russian Orthodox mystic, Nicolas Berdyaev. His book on *The Meaning of History* is based on a series of lectures given in Moscow in the year 1919-1920. He condemns the idea of progress, and especially the Communist version of it, as an illusion. He professes to be a follower of Augustine, especially in his view of the relation of time and eternity. Like Plato, Augustine believed in a timeless eternity, in which all that truly is abides. Time is a part of God's creation and did not exist before he created the heavens and the earth, nor will it exist after their destruction. This notion, it must be added, can hardly be found in the Bible and is incomprehensible to the naive, or unphilosophical mind. Such minds may find consolation in the recent writings of Oscar Cullman, especially by his book *Christ and Time*, now being translated into all the principal languages of Europe. Berdyaev, going somewhat beyond Augustine, speaks of two kinds of time, the false, which belongs to our perception of passing things, and the true, which abides in the memory, and in God. The one is false, as Augustine argues, because the past is gone, that is, non-existent, while the present is nothing but the point, like a geometrical point, which separates past from future. But time truly exists in the memory, that is, in history, and in God. For the Christian, Berdyaev says, history is in the clash, or interaction between Providence, necessity, and human freedom. These create the drama, the tragedy, of history. This true history is the inner life of the spirit, ever present to us if we will but dive beneath the surface. God is not a changeless, omnipotent Being, such as Augustine thought, but a Mystery, who has a beginning and a tragic destiny which he shares with man. But it is not necessary to pursue Berdyaev's mysticism further. Augustine would have rejected his system as being another Gnostic invention, similar to the bizarre fancies of the second century heretics, who were as much indebted to Greek mythology as to the Christian faith which they professed. As for Biblical history, Berdyaev does not regard it as literal fact, but rather as religious truth revealed in symbols.

My second book is one written by a classicist of the University of Toronto, Charles N. Cochrane, and published in 1939, bearing the title *Christianity and Classical Culture*. It is not so much the exposition of a view of history as it is an account of the inadequacies of the ancient views of history, and how the Christians replaced those views with their own, culminating in the fully developed views of Augustine. It is thus itself the history of an idea, but an idea so sympathetically presented that it seems naturally valid for consideration in our own time.

The third book, called *Christianity and History*, is by a Cambridge professor of modern history, Herbert Butterfield, and consists of seven lectures given on the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1949. Though a historian, he here speaks as a Christian, defending the Biblical view of God as the God of history, revealed in the prophets and in Jesus the Word made flesh. He says: "I think that the general course of history is so shaped that a Christian is in the right relation to it . . . I have in mind nothing that is at all novel, but a Christianity that is ancient, something which has been available to anybody in our part of the world for fifteen hundred years—a religion of the spirit, other-worldly if you like, preaching charity and humility, trusting Providence and submitting to it, and setting its heart and its treasure in heaven." He explains his intense concern with the subject: "After a long period of comparative security and general progress, we in this part of the world find ourselves in the midst of that very kind of catastrophic history which confronted the Hebrew prophets at one period, and which the great St. Augustine had to face at another period."

The fourth book, *Meaning in History*, was published in America the same year as Butterfield's book. Its author, Karl Lowith, is professor of philosophy at Heidelberg, but was in 1949 at the Hartford Theological Seminary in this country. The theme of the book is indicated on the fly leaf by a quotation from one of Augustine's sermons: "Thus the world is like an oil-press under pressure. If you are the dregs you are carried away through the sewer; if you are the genuine oil you will remain in the vessel." The book is a study of views of history in modern and ancient times, moving backward from the modern views of Burckhardt and Karl Marx, through Comte, Voltaire, Bossuet, Augustine, and others, to the Biblical view. The obvious intention is to show that the Biblical view is superior to the sophisticated views of modern times. The idea of progress is in any case an illusion. If we are to be rationalists, we will agree with the Greek and find in history as in nature, fixed laws which must lead to cycles of change. Only the Biblical view of Providence can emancipate us from the fatalism and despair which belongs to this view. The idea of progress is an attempt to combine

Greek naturalism with Christian futurism. To quote the closing words of the book: "The modern world has not made up its mind whether it should be Christian or pagan. It sees with one eye of faith and one of reason. Hence its vision is necessarily dim in comparison with either Greek or Biblical thinking."

The last two books are the most recent and perhaps best represent the thought of present-day Catholics and Protestant liberals. Professor Etienne Gilson has for thirty years stood at the top of Catholic scholarship in the field of medieval philosophy and Augustine. In 1950 he wrote a preface for an American translation of Augustine's *City of God*; two years later he published a series of lectures delivered at Louvain, Belgium, on *Les Metamorphoses de la Cite de Dieu* (The Metamorphoses of the City of God), in which he develops the views of his preface. He is most preoccupied with the problem of a universal society, for which (he thinks) the world is now suffering its birth-pangs. But what can be the basis of that society, if not a universal faith? A world-state created by conquest will not be a universal society, but will consist of rulers and unwilling subjects. The Roman Empire proved the futility of such a state, and the Marxists show less skill than the Romans in their efforts; they can create only a slave state worse than any known in antiquity. The only hope is for a Christian society, that is, a world united in the Catholic faith. This is the medieval idea, based upon the thought of Augustine; whether Augustine foresaw such a society on earth is immaterial, for its principles are implied in his view of history. The problem, Gilson thinks, is one of converting the world, and perhaps the world in its present perplexities will be more ready to hear and be converted.

The last book of my list is Reinhold Niebuhr's *Christian Idealism and Political Problems*, published in 1953. Many of Niebuhr's earlier books have dealt with the subject of history, especially his *Faith and History* (1949). He is a professed follower of Augustine, from whom he borrows what he calls the theology of "Christian realism." That theology stands in contrast with modern scientific culture which is based on two chief illusions: the perfectibility of man, and the idea of progress. Modern science professes to be both empirical (that is, based on observation) and rational (that is, making rational coherence the test of truth). But, declares Niebuhr, the rational test leads men to deny obvious facts. There is in fact an irrational element in life, the element of man's freedom; that freedom is the basis of man's creative and destructive possibilities, and is absolutely unpredictable. Man's activities and his reasoning processes are always tainted by self-interest, and by his own sense of insecurity, hence his pride and sin. This is the truth underlying Augustine's doctrine of original sin and is the enduring basis of the earthly state, even a so-called



Christian state. But this realism need not lead to despair, for there is another state, the City of God, which is mingled in the life of men, refusing to admit that self-love and universal sin is the normal state of man. The normal state is that in which man was created, in dependence upon God and guided by love. Even in his present fallen state the love of God can draw man from his self-love and save him. Earthly peace and progress are good, but cannot be lasting without this higher love.

Niebuhr's views, so far as I have here stated them, are in accord with Augustine, and I think in substantial accord with Biblical teaching. Yet Niebuhr is a modernist. Like Berdyaev, he rejects Biblical history as mythology, having only a symbolic value. So rejects also Biblical prophecy, including the promise of the resurrection and the future life. Eternity, he believes, is ever present, and in the love of God we enter into his eternity. The visible Church, with its "sacraments," he thinks is useful, for it gives the symbols by which men may perceive and appropriate the eternal realities of the City of God. There is an instructive passage in one of Niebuhr's earlier books (*Beyond Tragedy*, 1938), a sermon in which he preaches from a phrase of Paul's, "As deceivers and yet true." Perhaps, he admits, this is a mere paradox, like those which precede and follow, but it is also a very profound statement. "For what is true in the Christian religion can be expressed only in symbols which contain a certain degree of provisional and superficial deception. We do teach the truth by deception. We are deceivers, yet true."

All this reminds one of the repeated statement of pagan writers on religion, that it is necessary for the people to be deceived in religion. Only the philosophers, the learned Roman, Varro, said, could be expected to understand the profound truths clothed in the pagan myth and ritual. This Augustine attacks and ridicules. Only the demons, who are by nature deceivers, could delight in such a theory. As against the pagan religion of falsehood Augustine proclaims the religion of truth. Bible history and Bible prophecy are both true, coming from God, who cannot lie. Only with a view to the resurrection and the future life can the Christian pilgrim be guided by hope. The very existence of Augustine's City of God is based on premises which Niebuhr, and "liberal" Protestants, deny.

# The Relation of Philosophy and Religion

J. D. Thomas

Men accept one of three sources from which we may derive our ultimate values:

1. The level above man—the divine—held by the Supernaturalist, who says that God is primary, man is secondary, and nature is third in importance.
2. The level of man—the human—held by the Humanist, who says that religion exists for man, the divine level is oriented from the human, and nature exists for man.
3. The level lower than man—nature—held by the Naturalist who says that nature is all important. There is no transcendent Being and any worship should be addressed to nature—man is only a part of nature.

You will note that not one of these three sources of ultimate values can be “scientifically proved” as the correct one. It is impossible for us to prove the existence of God through any one of the five senses to a Naturalist or a Humanist. On the contrary it is impossible for him to prove scientifically that God does not exist or that the Bible is not inspired, or any similar point of faith. God has left room for those who do not love the truth to find “delusions” which will cause them to “believe a lie,” and permit their judgment to be clear-cut (II Thes. 2: 10-12). We all “walk by faith and not by sight” (II Cor. 5:6).

Please note the “tree of thought” sketched below:

As we contemplate the diagram it is rather easy to see that one must be on the right “limb” of the tree to have the truth. Where the limbs fork and one has a choice of accepting one view or the other, he can make a wrong choice as well as a right choice; and having the truth is simply a matter of making the right choices in every instance. As a basis for truth, the individual must accept first the true source of values, that of the supernatural realm and God.

Likewise one must accept correct views of *Metaphysics*. Metaphysics concerns one’s theory of reality, that is to say, what things are real and what things are not real. Is an idea real? Are spiritual values real? Is matter real? Different men make different choices as to what constitutes reality and, therefore, have different metaphysical views. A wrong view of Metaphysics would certainly wreck one’s opportunity to know total truth.

Again, one has to make a choice in the field of *Epistemology*, or “theory of knowledge.” Epistemology concerns the reality and extent of knowledge, the origin, sources, and methods of knowl-

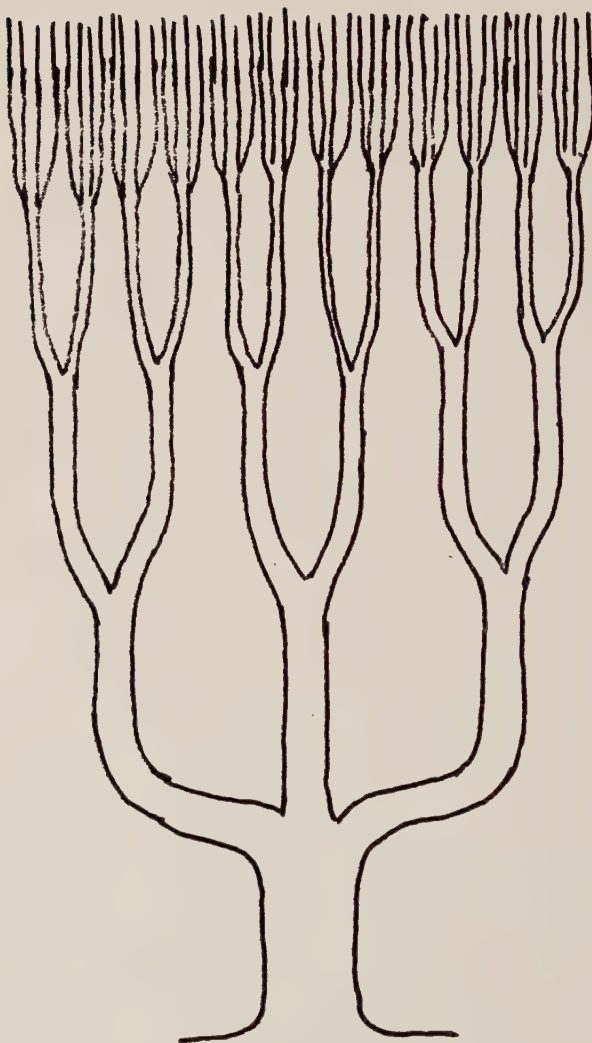
HUMAN CON-  
DUCT—  
"THE FRUIT"

DETAILED  
DOCTRINES

MAJOR  
DOCTRINES

SPECIFIC  
PHILOSOPHI-  
CAL VIEWS IN  
META-  
PHYSICS,  
EPISTEMOLO-  
GY, AXIOLO-  
GY, LOGIC

THE SOURCE  
OF ULTIMATE  
VALUES



CULTURE :  
CIVILIZATION  
DAILY DEEDS  
GOALS, ETC.

BAPTISM  
LORD'S  
SUPPER  
CARE OF  
ORPHANS  
ETC.

AUTHORITY  
NATURE OF  
GOD  
INSPIRATION  
CHRIST, ETC.

REALITY  
CHANGE  
FAITH AND  
REASON  
EMPIRICISM  
SUBJECTIV-  
TY, ETC.

SUPERNATURALISM,  
HUMANISM  
OR  
NATURALISM

"THOUGHT TREE"



edge, and the validity of knowledge. For instance, does one know truth by intuition, does he know it by pure reason, does he know it only by empiricism—experiencing through his five senses? Or is there a combination of some of these theories, which is the way a person knows? A correct Epistemology must make due allowance for revelation and authority, and many people therefore have a wrong epistemological outlook and therefore cannot get at the whole truth.

As we go from the larger branches on up into the smaller branches of the tree, we find that one must choose rightly concerning certain major doctrines, such as the nature of God, of the Bible, of Christ, of man, of man's relationship to God, his purposes on the earth and such important doctrines as inspiration and revelation. For one to choose wrongly about any of these major doctrines will indicate that he will not arrive at total truth.

Even though one should have chosen correctly with respect to the Supernatural, with respect to Metaphysics and Epistemology and with respect to major doctrines, he again must choose rightly concerning detailed points of doctrine, which include, for instance, matters like faith, baptism, when to partake of the Lord's Supper, and all the Bible teaches on one point or another. If he chooses wrongly in any point, he will not have truth to that degree. Our daily conduct is dependent upon what detailed doctrines we accept. The reason that we partake of the Lord's Supper each first day of the week is that we believe that the Bible teaches that particular detailed doctrine in just that way. All human conduct, therefore, is the *fruit* of one's "tree of thought," and is dependent upon exactly what detailed doctrines the individual believes. The detailed doctrines, of course, are dependent upon major doctrines, which in turn are dependent upon the major philosophical outlook and on the sources of ultimate values that we accept.

Man can err at any point. He must accept the correct branch of the tree at every parting of the branches or twigs, if he is to have the whole truth on a given matter and have the right conduct in his life. There are many opportunities to go wrong. For those who have chosen Naturalism or Humanism as the ultimate source of values, the entire hope of getting the truth has been ruined, until this basic view is corrected. It would not be much help to argue detailed doctrines, such as the necessity of baptism, to the man who believes in Naturalism, before we first lead him to become a Supernaturalist. In actual practice, in trying to bring men to obedience to the truth of God, we need to go as far "down" the tree as necessary to find the exact point where he "branched away" from the truth and show him his error at that point. Then we need to lead him carefully up each branch until he is able to accept correct detailed doctrines

and until the fruit of right conduct or actions is realized in his life.

It is impossible for any man to be religiously right and accept any of the wrong branches. The most of what is wrong with the religious world today goes deeper than simply wrong interpretation of detailed doctrines of Scripture. All kinds of Modernists are what they are religiously because they have accepted wrong points of philosophy, wrong metaphysical, epistemological, axiological (moral values), or other views, and thus their religious super-structure can never be right. Right religion cannot be erected on perverted philosophy.

The OLD-LIBERALS are in many cases Naturalists, or at least naturalistic in some areas of their presuppositions. Extreme Old-Liberals are Humanist in their presuppositions. All Liberals are strongly empiricist, that is to say, they rely heavily upon the five senses in Epistemology, and they regard science almost reverentially, but somehow they always ignore the possibility of the Supernatural, in the face of the fact that the Bible itself cannot really be explained on a purely naturalistic basis.

The NEO-ORTHODOX Modernists are unempirical and unscientific when they consider the matter of one's personal commitment, although they accept empirical and scientific learning in matters of practical every-day life. In Epistemology they are almost Intuitionists, believing that final truth is directly mediated from God to the individual in a personal experience — somewhat like the old "direct-operation of the Holy Spirit" doctrine, except that Neo-Orthodoxy is somewhat vague as to the personal Holy Spirit of the Bible..

It would be well for gospel preachers to be acquainted with philosophical matters enough to know these major areas well, so that they could help denominational people to come to appreciate and know God's truth.

# Exegetical Helps – Questions Expecting Affirmative and Negative Answers

J. W. Roberts

The interpreter and expositor of the New Testament are greatly helped by a knowledge of grammatical and literary devices in the original language which gives clear hints of the exact meaning intended by the writer. Such devices often add spice and flavor to the language, but they also often are valuable in establishing for the interpreter the meaning of passages. These devices cannot often be translated into English. Thus even one who does not know the original language may be greatly helped in his exegesis by an understanding of certain phenomena along with a list of passages in which they occur.

One such construction in Greek is the interrogative question in which the author by an introductory interrogative particle indicated the answer which he expected, whether "yes" or "no." This construction though lacking in English is common in other languages. It is found in Latin, for example, where *nonne* introduces the question in which the inquirer expects the "Yes" and *num* the "No," e.g. *Nonne potes?* "You can, can't you?"; *Num potes?* "You can't, can you?"

## Greek Questions in General

This subject is related to the more general subject of interrogative sentences in Greek. Many Greek sentences begin with obvious interrogative words such as *pos* (how?), *pou* (where?), *heos* (how long?), *ti* (What? or Why?). There is no specific difference between these particles and their English counterparts. Questions of doubt about the present or future fall into a special category called *deliberative* questions. These are usually easily recognized by the double negatives *ou me* and by the fact that the verb is usually subjunctive (Matthew 5:26; 1 Cor. 11:22), though a few use the future indicative (John 6:68; Rom. 3:6).

Simple questions of inquiry are more difficult. They depend usually on the context for their identification as questions. Since the early MSS had no punctuation marks (The Greek question mark, our English semicolon, was added by later copyists and editors.), it is sometimes a matter of dispute as to whether a sentence is indicative or interrogative. Robertson<sup>1</sup> gives a list of such sentences: John 16:31; Rom. 8:33; 14:22; 1 Cor. 1:13; 2 Cor. 3:1; Heb. 10:2; James 2:4, etc. At other times the end of the question is difficult to determine, e.g., John 7:19 and Rom. 4:1.

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<sup>1</sup>Robertson, A. T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*. (Nashville, Broadman Press, 1934) p. 1175.



It is for this reason that the construction which is the subject of this paper is especially helpful. It not only definitely identifies many sentences as interrogative, but establishes the affirmative or negative intent of the questioner.

### The Construction Described

The affirmative or negative interrogative construction is described as follows in a section translated from Blass-Debrunner:

In a question *ou* as well as *me* is used (as in Classical Greek): *ou* (often *ouchi*) if an affirmative answer is expected, *me* (very popularly *meti*) if a negative answer is expected. Thus Luke 6:39 *meti dunatai tuphlos tuphlon hodegein* ("Can the blind lead the blind?" Answer: "Certainly not"). *ouchi amphoterōi eis bothunon empesountai*; ("Will not both fall into the ditch?" JWR) Answer: "Certainly so." Cf. 1 Cor. 9:8.<sup>2</sup>

The constructions (as will be seen from the above) are quite simple and easily recognized. The particles *ou* and *me* stand at the beginning of the sentence; *ou* may be strengthened to *ouchi* and *me* to the form *meti*, but these cause no difficulty. When *ou* or its form occurs, the suggested answer is "yes"; when *me* or its form occurs, the answer suggested is "no."

### Preliminary Cautions

One or two preliminary notes of caution should be borne in mind in applying this rule to exegesis. The first is that the verb in the question itself may already have a negative *ou*. This combined double negative produces an affirmative answer. Compare Rom. 10:17 *me ou ekousan*; "Did they hear?" Answer: "Certainly so." See 1 Cor. 11:22. This combination occurs only in Paul in the New Testament.<sup>3</sup>

Another caution which should govern interpretation is that the construction has to do with the *statement* (as do modal aspects of language in general) and the context must be analyzed to determine if the statement is to be taken at face value. Even Judas asked, along with the others, *meti ego eimi*; ("It isn't I, is it?") only to have Jesus say, "Thou sayest."

### English Parallels

This type of sentence has nothing in English which corresponds to it exactly. We often express the same thing, however, by the tone of our voice or the position of our words. We say, "Would you do *that*?" Answer, "Surely not." Or we may say, "You wouldn't do that would you?" Affirmatively we may ask, "You would go if

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<sup>2</sup>Blass, Friedrich, and Debrunner, Albert, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), p. 193.

<sup>3</sup>Blass-Debrunner, *Ibid.*

I asked you to, wouldn't you?" Such in reality is what the two types of sentences in Greek mean.

### Illustrations

Some illustrations of these constructions will perhaps be interesting and helpful in fixing their use in mind.

Note the fourfold use of *ou* in questions in 1 Cor. 9:1. "Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord?" Paul uses the affirmative particle before each of these questions and the construction implies an emphatic "certainly so" in each case.

In the same chapter Paul uses the same expression when he asks, "Saith not the Law the same?" (v. 2); "Do you know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple?" (v. 13); and "Do you know that they that run in a race all run but one receiveth the prize?" (v. 24).

Notice, however, Paul's use of *me* in the same chapter. In verse eight he asks, "Do I speak as a man?" Here Paul uses *me* to begin the question. He means, "You surely don't charge that this is merely my way of saying it, do you?" It surely isn't mere "man-talk" (Parry, *Cambridge Greek Testament*). After quoting the law to the effect that the ox which treads out the wheat is not to be muzzled he asks, "Does God care for the ox?" Paul means by his *me* that the care of God is not merely for the oxen and that the rule is given allegorically for the sake of man for whom God's care really is.

Perhaps it should be noted that we have two uses of *ou me* in questions in this same chapter. In verse four Paul asks, "Do we not have authority to eat and drink?" and in verse 5, "Do we not have authority to lead about a wife who is a believer just as the rest of the apostles and the brethren of the Lord?" He is saying, "You Corinthians would surely not deny these rights, would you?" He is completely sure of his ground.

### The Interpretation Doctrinally Important

These constructions are often involved in constructions which are very timely and of doctrinal import.

For example, recently a discussion was carried on about the nature of the edification program in the early church. Some affirmed that every mature male member of the church must be a teacher and do his part in the "mutual edification" of the church. The string of negative questions from Paul in 1 Cor. 12:29f, all beginning with the negative particle *me*, certainly has a bearing on this contention: "Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? etc." In each case the answer expected by the form of the original expression is "Certainly not."

The question of the parts of faith and works in justification has been a point of serious contention. To the question, "What doth it profit if a man say he has faith but has not works?" Paul asks another: "*me dunatai he pistis sosai auton*; "Can that faith save him?" The answer expected is "Certainly not." The idea that faith in God is an intellectual assent such as the demons possess (v. 19) which involves no obedience to God for justification is totally rejected by James. Even Paul who had taught that "a man is justified by faith apart from works of law" (Rom. 3:28) had taught that justification depended upon "obedience from the heart to that form of doctrine unto which ye were delivered" and that in this his readers had been "made free from sin" (Rom. 6:17f).

### Lists for Reference

Further illustrations will yield fruitful results to the student. Homiletical material is readily available to the inquirer in the following list of passages in the N. T. which use these constructions. The lists are based upon Moulton and Geden's *Concordance to the Greek Testament* and are complete to that extent.

Passages using *ou* expecting an affirmative answer: Matt. 6:26, 28; 7:22; 12:3, 5; 13:55; 15:17; 17:24; 18:33; 19:4; 20:15; 22:31; 24:2; 26:40; 27:13; Mark 4:21, 38; 6:3; 7:18; 8:18; 11:17; 12:24, 26; 14:16; 15:4; Luke 2:49; 10:40; 13:15, 16; 17:17, 18; John 3:10; 4:35; 6:70; 7:19, 25, 42; 8:48; 9:8; 10:34; 11:37, 40; 14:10; 18:26; 19:10 (bis); Acts 2:7; 9:21; 13:10; 21:38; Rom. 2:21, 26; 6:16; 9:21; 11:2; 1 Cor. 3:4, 16; 5:6; 6:2, 15, 16, 19; 9:1, 8, 12, 13, 24; 10:18; 12:15, 16; 14:23; 2 Cor. 12:18 (bis); 13:5; Gal. 4:21; 2 Thess. 2:5; Heb. 12:9; James 2:4, 5, 6, 7, 21, 25; 4:1, 4. (Total 88).

Passages using *ouki* expecting an affirmative answer: Matt. 5:46, 47; 6:25; 10:29; 12:11; 13:27, 56; 18:12; 20:13; Luke 4:22; 6:37; 12:6; 14:28, 31; 15:8; 17:8, 17; 22:27; 23:39; 24:26, 32; John 6:42; 7:42; 11:9; Acts 2:7; 5:4; 7:50; Rom. 8:32; 1 Cor. 1:20; 3:3; 5:12; 6:7 (bis); 8:10; 9:1; 10:16 (bis), 18; 2 Cor. 3:8; 1 Thess. 2:19; Heb. 1:14; 3:17. (Total 42).

Passages using *me* expecting a negative answer: Matt 7:9, 10; 9:15; 11:5; Mark 2:4; Luke 5:34; 10:15; 11:11, 12; 17:9; 22:35; John 3:4; 4:12, 33; 6:67; 7:31, 35, 41, 47, 48, 51, 52; 8:53; 9:27, 40; 10:21; 18:17, 25; 21:5; Acts 7:28, 42; Rom. 3:3, 5; 9:14, 20; 10:18, 19; 11:1, 5; 1 Cor. 1:13; 9:4, 8, 9; 10:22; 11:22; 12:25 (five times); 2 Cor. 3:1; 12:17; James 2:14; 3:12. (Total 53).

Passages using *meti* expecting a negative answer: Matt. 7:16; 12:23; 26:22, 25; Mark 4:21; 14:19; Luke 6:39; 9:13; John 4:29; 8:22; 18:35; Acts 10:47; 2 Cor. 1:17; 12:18; James 3:11. (Total 15). (The grand total of such passages in the New Testament is some 198 passages.)



# Methods in Teaching

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Orval Filbeck

One of the noblest and most valuable activities of mankind has been that of teaching. This very vital practice has been found in all cultures and nations. The ancient Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Greeks and the early Christians all made use of teaching. However, they did not all proceed in the same way and the end results were not the same. Some would suggest that two important elements have been involved. One is the content and the other is the method of teaching. Obviously, the content of education has not been the same for all groups of people. It is also true that they have not made use of the same methodology in doing their teaching.

It is the writer's purpose to look at two very prominent methods of teaching and learning that Christian teachers may use. Most assuredly there are other methods. But these two are so useful to both the teacher and the learner that they should be used in educational work.

In modern times one very prominent method has been associated with the German, Herbart. Though the principle is not new, the meaning attached to it was made to flourish with Herbart. The method is sometimes referred to as the "five formal steps." Some have criticized the procedure, but it does give a good picture of what a teacher does in presenting information to a learner. Likewise, it gives a picture of how the mind functions in taking on new knowledge.

It is fairly safe to assume that the pupil's experience is haphazard and unsystematized before real education has taken place. If the learning is to be meaningful and systematized, a good method must be used. A small child, for example, has a very inaccurate concept of time. At a certain age a year is almost meaningless. However, a birthday has meaning and a year is more easily understood in terms of birthdays. Thus the new is interpreted in terms of the old. Such was the plan of Herbart and is embodied in the five steps. They are:

1. Preparation. This involves recalling and reviewing the understandings and ideas of the learner already achieved about the study under consideration. By this means interest can be aroused and motivation can be instilled.
2. Presentation. This involves presenting the new material so that it is understood by the learner. Here is a wonderful opportunity for the senses to be used and for material to have concreteness.
3. Association. This involves assimilation and digestion of the

new material. Points of similarity of the new material with the old are pointed out. Differences are also indicated. This is the teacher's golden opportunity to make learning meaningful.

4. Generalization. This involves deductions which are to be made from the things which have been assimilated. Out of the meanings in learning should come understandings, rules, principles, or generalizations.
5. Application. This involves the utilization in life situations of what has been learned. This is the part that makes life's activities vital and constructive.

It is easy to see that the teacher assumes a very important role in the above procedure. Such is to be expected of a genuine Christian teacher. He must know how to organize learning situations and present the material by telling, for example. The "telling" method—sometimes called the lecture method—has always been an important one. This method is more applicable for certain types of material than for others. It is also more appropriate for certain levels of development—high school age, for example—than for other levels. To be sure, other methods have their place for the age of adolescence. But the teacher who is most effective conducts the learning experience in harmony with the way learners react in taking on new learning.

We must not forget that the learner must react. He must be active in the learning process. There must come a time when his behavior assumes that of prominence. Learning is to take place. Problems are to be solved. Behavior is to be changed. The learner must assert himself.

With the learner assuming his rightful place, the "problem solving" method assumes importance. It can be represented fairly well by four steps. They are:

1. Consciousness of a problem. Only when the learner wants to change, do something, or explore will he be active in learning.
2. Locate the heart of the problem. This prevents haphazardness in learning. Instead of shooting "wild" the target is located.
3. Possible solutions are considered. When one thinks before he acts, his behavior is more dependable. Good theory is vital to good practice.
4. Most logical solution used. Life's problems are solved when we do something about them.

Here the learner has stepped into the center of the situation. He will profit because he has had a problem and has found the solution—with some help no doubt. He will be stronger for the next problem that he meets.

These two approaches to teaching have importance for the Christian teacher. They can both be used in the same unit, course, or

hour. For example, consider the parable of "The Prodigal Son." There are untold numbers of people who need the message contained in the parable. The better teacher will take advantage of the possibility of teaching real lessons from it. Before presenting the parable, he should know the problems facing youth today that are similar to those of the prodigal before he left home. There are many practices, similar and dissimilar, that related to life both then and now. When these are discussed and thoroughly understood, the learner is in a position to be introduced to new learning experiences. The teacher is using the step, "Preparation." The parable can then be presented in the most effective manner. Problems of the young can be related to those of the prodigal. The experiences gained can be related to life. Out of this should come principles and rules of living that can be used in life. Thus the learning has been meaningful. The learner gains real profit because new material has been presented in the most meaningful way and he has found something that helps him solve his problems of life.

The learner has been active in the teaching of the "parable." The situation, at its best, has not been one-sided—teacher-sided. In the study the student has identified problems that are no doubt in his own life. At the same time he has attempted to locate real solutions to the problems. For example, a boy may have decided to leave home and "try himself in the world." The lesson helps him work out of his own difficulties. Then, too, if one be in sin, he has an example to follow. There is a real way out of sin. It has been used before. The one in sin resolves that he will use the solution. This is the problem-solving method in action. It is personal. It is individual. It is effective.

In Bible teaching the two methods should supplement each other. In this way the teacher finds his appropriate place—he is not a dictator. The learner also assumes his rightful place. He becomes an active, intelligent person in development and in dealing with his problems.



# The Old Testament and Archaeology

## II

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John A. Scott

### What the Archaeologist Seeks

You will recall that Part I of this series defined "archæology" as an investigation into the remains of ancient civilizations and that in order to do this thoroughly, scientific and painstaking methods must be employed to unearth these remains. Then after they are brought to the first light of day since, perhaps, 6000 years ago, they must be carefully evaluated and interpreted. But is all this work and expense worth it? Does archæology contribute an appreciable amount to the knowledge of history and the Bible to justify itself? The answer is an emphatic "yes." What was said about there not being space in the world to contain the books which could have been written on the activities of Jesus (John 20:30; 21:25) could also be said about the Old Testament. There is more unsaid than said. Thus, the more we are able to learn about the contemporary scene the better we will be able to understand the record. Furthermore, it strengthens the faith of believers and helps build a faith for the skeptic. This is done by these channels: 1) The gaps in dating are filled in. 2) Skeletal remains broaden our knowledge of the races and nations, while burial methods give indications of religious beliefs. 3) Literary documents enlarge our understanding in many fields of endeavor. These fields challenge the archæologist and lead him on in a never ending pursuit of the romance of antiquity.

### Filling in the Dates

While the student of modern history learns the significance of exact dating like "dawn, April 19, 1775" or "4:30 a.m., April 12, 1861" or "11:00 a.m. November 11, 1918," the world shaking events of ancient times are not as easily fixed. This is not even true of the Biblical record. The writers haven't left enough material for us to be able to construct as precise a chronological table as we would like. It was unnecessary for their purpose. Fractions of years were likely dealt with much as we deal with tenths of a cent, i.e., considered one if over half or dropped if under half. Round numbers are dominant with some figures apparently preferred to others, like 20 and 40. This seemingly loose way was more prevalent in ancient times than at the time of Christ, and even here the thinking of those people was more on the *fact* of the event than on such details as a precise length of time, as in the "three days and three nights" that Christ was in the tomb. The reckoning of time was just not as important to them as to us. Archbishop Usher in the seventeenth century thought he had figured it out precisely. Ar-

chæological discoveries and further research have borne out some of his dates, but they have also demonstrated the error of others.

Dates can be ascertained from the remains in various ways. Roman coins are found in Britain; household wares in ancient Greece; in Palestine and Syria the presence or lack of Egyptian scarabs will indicate date. In Mesopotamia the shape and size of bricks are indicative, the name or god of a temple, or the name of its builder throws light on the time of those events. The Egyptians using stone, in place of clay, left inscriptions together with pictures on the walls, corner stones and foundations, a record as good as a current events magazine and much more durable. For all of these peoples, pottery is a big determining factor and is quite reliable.

From such materials it can be determined that Usher's date for the descent of Joseph in 1728 is certainly close enough to be considered accurate. He must have entered during the reign of the Hyksos rulers, the beginning of which was about 1730. On the other hand the date of the exodus being fixed by Usher at exactly 1441 is much more tenuous. This could be more exactly determined if an exact date for the conquest were known. But it isn't. There is evidence to support an exodus of about 1400 B.C., but there is also much evidence for a date of about 100 years later. And some Biblical data could be lined up for either date.

Whereas archæology has, by giving us enough material to fill in some of the gaps, complicated the dating of this particular period—so far—in other areas it has already been decisive. Some years ago there were higher critics who denied the reality of a character like Abraham. But research into that time has demonstrated not only that he was a very credible person but that the customs and laws under which he lived only existed for a brief period in that area and *could not* have been made up by a person living in a later age.

You can see how easy it is without concrete data to the contrary to challenge and tear down. Before the birth of archæology certain European critics could make the bold assertion that much of the Hebrew Scriptures dated from 100 B.C. without fear of contradiction from external evidence. But no reasonable scholar of modern times would dare make such a statement. Archæological discoveries make such a position as that ridiculous.

Early Canaanite religious literature has forced scholars to push back to early Israelite times, psalms that had been considered late. Since the time Proverbs was considered late, many dead nations have given up their proverb collections from much earlier times than Solomon and thereby have demonstrated the reality of their traditional date. Wellhausen labeled the list of Levitic cities in Josh. 21 and 1 Chron. 6 as an "artificial product of some post-exilic scribe's imagination." But the exact sites of these towns are now known and it is clear that they were not only founded prior to 1000

B.C. but it is verified that they were in Israelite possession only during the time of the reigns of David and Solomon.

As a postscript to this paragraph on dates let's consider one from the New Testament. You may or may not be familiar with the teaching which dates John's Gospel to a second century writer under strong Grecian influence. But archæological research indicates that this was written before the period 66-70, coordinating with the life of John. The Aramaic word "rabbi" is rendered most frequently in John's Gospel as "didaskalos" (teacher, master) and applied to Jesus. Some critics have maintained that this was "anachronistic" and was borrowed from second century times when it was in popular use. But excavations have found that the term was in use most extensively during the very period purported to have been by traditional dating of John.

To strengthen the case for a late date of this Gospel it was asserted that the writer of John used fictitious personal names, composing them simply "because of their meaning," like Elizabeth, Salome, Johanna, Lazarus. But tombs of that period have now yielded these very names and now, these arguments, at least, cannot be used to plead a late date for John.

This brings us to something else the archæologist looks for:

### **Evidence From Graves**

The importance of grave digging is recognized when you become aware of the fact that most of the relics you see in museums came from tombs. Furthermore, in most instances all we know about the religion of an extinct race of people comes from their burial customs. In Greece, a coin was placed on the mouth of the dead so they could pay their fare to Charon to be ferried over the river of death. The Mesopotamians, used to the necessary provisions for a merchant's journey, left vessels of food and drink for the death journey. And for the Egyptian's dead-time reading, he took along a copy of the "Book of the Dead." In nearly all of these countries provisions were made for them to continue their existence after death much as it had been during life. The utensils necessary to their craft or occupation were usually buried with them. You can see, therefore, that a great deal can be learned about their life from studying their dead. But such excavation must be painstakingly done. During the process of digging notes, photographs and drawings must be carefully made, because objects frequently were placed either on the corpse or above it during the refilling process, hence they will be found first in redigging the grave. This may indicate some kind of ritual.

Although many tombs of kings have been robbed of valuables, in others, richly decorated thrones, jewelry, gold objects, and even servants have been found. However, with this stress on grave objects don't think we can't see the dead for the relics. The skeleton



or mummy itself is also very important. The position and direction of the body are often meaningful. The contrast in burial of rulers with commoners may indicate what the financial and social conditions of life were. Then the body measurements, particularly those of the skull, will reveal something of the nationality. In this way, and by comparing a series of graves, the dates of migrations and conquests have been determined. Whether people ruled themselves or were ruled by foreigners can thus be ascertained—if enough graves are found.

### Literary Documents

There was a time when some men believed that Moses lived before men were able to write. No one believes this now. But archæological finds have done more than refute this in adding to our knowledge of early Biblical times. The Code of Hammurabi, Mari letters, and Nuzi documents have thrown a flood of light on the life and times of Abraham and the other patriarchs. The laws and customs under which they lived write a new and vivid commentary on this portion of Genesis. Ghost towns like Nahor and Haran are brought back to life, and life on the contemporary scene is shown to be like that described of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

An example of this:

The law code of the Babylonian King Hammurabi dates from about 1750 B.C. Abraham and his neighbors lived under its influence. Read Gen. 16; then consider these provisions. Sections 145, 146 make provisions for a man who is married and who does not have children. No. 145 states that while he may marry a "lay nun" she shall not share equal rights with the first wife. Section 146 provides that a barren wife may choose to give a hand-maid to her husband and if the maid bears children she shall share equal inheritance rights with her mistress. The hand-maid, who is the personal property of the wife, is a part of the dowry. Furthermore, the law stipulates that the mistress cannot sell the maid-servant now, but she may place a slave mark on her and consider her among the other servants.

A Nuzi cunieform tablet of adoption was found which demonstrates from life an application of these laws. A man named Shurikilu is childless so he adopts a lad named Shennima, who is entitled to inherit the man's possessions, provided that the man does not later have a natural son. If he does have a natural heir later, the son shall be considered the first born and receive a double portion of the inheritance, while Shennima will receive only a single portion. The document shows the man's great concern in providing for the care of his property by further providing that a Miss Gilimninu shall be given to Shennima for a wife. If she bears children Shennima cannot take another wife, but if she does not bear, a slave girl of a different race (Lulu) shall be provided to him. And if she has children, Gilimninu cannot send them away. If Gilimninu does

have children, all the land, buildings, and other possessions shall be given to her sons. And if she has only girls, then they shall get one share of the inheritance. This interesting clay tablet concludes with a promise by its maker, Shurikilu will not adopt another son in addition to Shennīma.

Now, from these documents note these stipulations and conditions:

1. Only in the case of childlessness does a wife give a handmaid to her husband.
2. It is the wife who does the choosing.
3. She picks an outsider. (The latter document called for a Lulu slave. Sarah provided an Egyptian.)
4. Should she bear, the maid can't be ordered away. (So Sarah made her so miserable that she left on her own.)

In all probability Abraham and Sarah had similar provisions in their marriage contract. Sarah seems to allude to such when she says (16:5), "May the unlawful act done to me be wiped out by your making it good." Hagar's sudden elevation went to her head and caused her to overstep her newly won "position in life" and Abraham was apparently letting her get by with it to the chagrin of Sarah.

One may select any period in Biblical history and find at least some additional and enlightening material dug up from the past which illuminates our own inspired record.

From a literary standpoint the Ostraca of Samaria dating from the eighth century show what the script and writing of Hosea was like. Isaiah's writing must have been like that of the seventh century Siloam inscription, and as for Jeremiah, the Lachish letters give a basis of knowledge of his orthography. The Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel is like that of the fifth century papyri and ostraca found in Palestine, Samaria, and Egypt.

Archæological finds have at times confirmed Biblical passages which commentators have supposed to have been wrong. They have also helped clarify accounts that have been elusive and have shown the meaning of rare words and phrases which scholars could only guess at before. Such kindred languages as Akkadian, Canaanite, and Ugaritic have made technical phrases or idioms much plainer.

It was in so recent a time as 1947 that the most revolutionary find, as far as Biblical research is concerned, was made. But strangely enough it was not the result of a costly, well planned systematic excavation, with bearded professors and learned technicians, but rather the chance passing of an obscure Arab boy of 15 who was looking for a stray goat. It is interesting to note that we have been richly rewarded because this lad was still following a practice that was so beautifully stated by the Savior when he said that a

good shepherd leaves the ninety and nine to go in search of one lost sheep. Because in this boy's search for an inexpensive goat, he found what are now known as the priceless "Dead Sea Scrolls." But thereby hangs another tale.

## Personalalia

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For William M. Green, J. W. Roberts, J. D. Thomas, and John A. Scott see *Restoration Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1.



# A List of Recent Master's Theses in Bible and Bible Related Studies at Abilene Christian College

Dean Fred J. Barton of the Graduate School at Abilene Christian College has kindly furnished *The Restoration Quarterly* with a list of the Master's Theses completed in the fields of Bible and Religious Education at that school since the Master's Degree was first conferred there in 1954. The publication of these titles will serve to let the brotherhood know what work has been done. It is hoped that similar lists may be published from the Graduate schools at Harding College and George Pepperdine. Also the editor hopes that a bibliography of theses and dissertations by members of the church of Christ in other schools may be compiled. Anyone having made or knowing of such studies would aid the spread of knowledge greatly by sending information of the study to this journal. It is also hoped that abstracts of many such studies may be published in the future. These studies are available in the libraries of the schools where they were written and may often be borrowed through other libraries on inter-library loans.

Roland, Hall Carmack Aug., 1954	A Rhetorical Study of the Sermons of the Apostle Peter as Recorded in the Book of Acts. American Standard Revised Version. MS
Van Dyke, Frank Aug., 1954	A Critical Analysis of the Mystery Revealed to Paul. MA
Boothe, Ervy Dec., 1954	The Idea of Forgiveness in the Old Testament. MA
Ferguson, Everett Aug., 1954	Historical Developments Related to the Public Ministry of the Word in the Church of the First and Second Centuries. MA
Ellis, Geoffrey Hudson Aug., 1954	Augustine's Concept of the Church As Contained in the "City of God" and Its Historical Significance. MA
Johnston, Robert L. Aug., 1955	A Study of the Interchangeability of EIS and EN in Acts and Luke. MA
Crow, John Hunter, Jr. Jan., 1955	A Study of the Lexical Power of the Gospel As Demonstrated in its Transformation of Certain Greek Words Related to the Scheme of Redemption. MA
Hill, George Melvin May, 1955	A Study In Developing a Program For Training Effective Leaders in the Local Church. MS
McEowen, Robert Harold Aug., 1955	The Use of Audio-Visual Materials in the Educational Work of the Church. MS

Sheerer, James C. May, 1956	A Comparative Study of the Ancient and Modern Philosophies of Time With the Biblical View. MA
Willis, John Thomas May, 1956	A Study of the Usages and Meanings of the Word "Heart" in the Old Testament. MA
Walker, Henry Earle Aug., 1956	A History of the Interpretations of the Creation Account in Genesis. MA
Reed, Kenneth Aug., 1956	Peter's Preparation For Preaching. MS
Musick, Gobel Gene May, 1956	A History of the Interpretation of the Relationship of Faith and Works. MA
Rideout, Holbert L. Aug., 1956	The <i>Gospel Advocate</i> on Preaching, 1855-1955. MS
Scott, Robert Edward June, 1956	How the Attitudes and Actions of the Christian Counselor Affect the Outcome. MS
Zickefoose, Ben H. Aug., 1956	A Woman's Place in the Educational Work of the Church According to the Teaching of the New Testament. MA
McMillan, Earle May, 1956	The Use of the Optative Mood in the New Testament. MA
Ady, Richard May, 1957	A Study of Problems Connected With Developing An Effective Program of Teaching for Junior High Boys and Girls. MS
Black, Garth May, 1957	A Critical Study of the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Christian. MA
Clark, Richard Hudson May, 1957	Problems of the Christian Missionary in Working With Moslems. MS
Douglas, Robert Christy May, 1957	An Annotated Translation of Books Thirteen and Nineteen of Origen's Commentary on John. MA
Priest, James E. Aug., 1957	The Educational Director in Churches of Christ. MS
Rohre, Douglass Aug., 1957	The Problem of Suffering in the Book of Job. MA
Ross, Chapin Aug., 1957	An Analysis of the Influence of Thomas Aquinas on Roman Catholic Views of Authority. MA
Yamaguchi, Ikuo Aug., 1957	The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency and the Suggested Programs That May Be Used by the Church to Offset and Prevent This Problem. MS
Pennisi, John L. Oct., 1957	A Study of the Problem of Church Leadership in the Light of the Dynamics of Group Management. MS

# The Bearing of The Use of Particles on the Authorship of The Pastoral Epistles

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J. W. Roberts

Recent attacks upon the genuineness of the canonical books of the New Testament have centered upon the Pastoral Epistles.<sup>1</sup> The attack upon these three short letters has cited principally (1) linguistic phenomena—vocabulary and style, (2) church organization, and (3) alleged differences in doctrinal teaching.<sup>2</sup>

The linguistic argument is certainly the one which has carried most weight. Though introduced earlier, the argument was set forth in greatest detail by N. P. Harrison in his book *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford University Press, 1929). His elaborate charts and text printed in polychrome are quite imposing, and the work is considered definitive by scholars who are inclined to date the Pastorals in the second century. For instance, Easton practically dismisses the argument by saying, "The special vocabulary of the Pastorals has been investigated with such thoroughness by Harrison that little need be said there . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Harrison's material against the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals may be summed up under four heads: (1) The use of many words which occur in these epistles not used by Paul otherwise (*hapax legomena*), (2) favorite words of Paul not used in these epistles, (3) the "Pauline" particles, prepositions, adverbs (indeclinables) not used in the Pastorals, (4) the Greek grammatical constructions.

There have been many excellent reviews of this material; e.g., White in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, Lock in the *International Critical Commentary*, and more recently P. C. Spicq in *Les Epitres Pastorales*,<sup>4</sup> E. K. Simpson in *The Pastoral Epistles*,<sup>5</sup> and William Hendrikson's *New Testament Commentary Exposition of the Pastoral Epistles* (pp. 6-18).<sup>6</sup> Harry E. Payne has an excellent refutation of the first part of Harrison's argument.<sup>7</sup> An even more detailed

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<sup>1</sup>See the review of Simpson's commentary on the Pastorals in this number.

<sup>2</sup>Compare Gealy, Fred D., *The Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1955), Vol. II, 343ff.

<sup>3</sup>Easton, B. S., *The Pastoral Epistles* (London, SCM Press, 1948), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie Editerus, 1947.

<sup>5</sup>Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1954.

<sup>6</sup>Grand Rapids, Baker, 1957.

<sup>7</sup>Payne, Harry E., *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles*. Unpublished thesis, University of Texas Library, Austin, 1948.

examination of the *hapax legomena* will be found in the Master's thesis of Carl Spain.<sup>8</sup>

It is proposed in this paper to consider critically the argument which Harrison considers the strongest—that of the indeclinable words.

### Statement of Harrison's Argument

On page 34 of Harrison's book he says

But we must now refer to another series of omissions, which is if possible still more striking and significant—the long string of Pauline particles, enclitics, prepositions, pronouns, etc., for which we look in vain in these epistles. Not only are the stones used by the builder of a different shape and substance from those of the Pauline's, the very clamps and mortar that hold them together are different too. . . In the table on pp. 36-7 there will be found a list of such words, showing the number of times that each occurs in the Pauline epistles singly and collectively.

The list referred to contains 112 words. The total is given for each book and for all books together, including repetitions. A chart on page 35 shows the "numbers, per page, including repetitions, of Pauline Particles, Prepositions, etc., which do not occur at all in the pastorals." The total occurrence is 932 with a mean average for all of 8.9 per page.

Concerning the force of this, Harrison says

It is not suggested, of course, that the Apostle was under any obligation to use any one of these every time he wrote. But let any reader fully observe the facts here given in the mass, reflect on the evidence now produced touching Paul's habitual modes of thought and expression, and then consider the balance of probability against such a contingency as the traditional theory requires us to accept—viz., that within a very few years we should find the same writer producing three epistles without once happening to use a single word in all that list—one or other of which has hitherto appeared on the average nine times to every page that Paul ever wrote. (Emphasis Harrison's)

Harrison challenges: "It is certain that nothing to approach this list can be produced in the case of any Pauline epistle" (*Ibid.*). Such is the argument from the "strange absence" of "more than a hundred" Pauline particles. Throughout his book Harrison makes much ado about this evidence. When he notices that his arguments on vocabulary are largely offset by the fact that the subject matter of the Pastorals differs greatly from all other of Paul's epistles, he falls back on the argument from these particles, etc., which are the "clay and mortar" of structure and which are not so much affected by difference in subject matter.

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<sup>8</sup>Spain, Carl, *The Pastoral Epistles*. Unpublished thesis, Southern Methodist University Library, Dallas, 1946, pp. 51 ff.



It appears surprising to one who has analyzed this material critically that so much weight should have been put in Harrison's results. Simpson is quite right when he observes concerning the influence of new subject matter in these epistles:

Thus the sheaf of fresh epithets descriptive of the model pastor or deacon, and the disparaging terms applied to the false teachers, are accounted for by their contexts. Meanwhile the staple of the vocabulary and syntax abides intact. Harrison forages assiduously in quest of grammatical innovations, but with the most insignificant results.<sup>9</sup>

Evidence that the testimony considered by Harrison to be most conclusive is really insignificant is herewith presented:

Of the total 112 words in Harrison's list of indeclinables, it should be noted that seven occur only once in all of Paul's epistles and nowhere else in all the New Testament. Twenty-eight of them occur only once in Paul's epistles, though they occur elsewhere in the New Testament.

Thus thirty-five of Harrison's 112 words occur only once in Paul, though Harrison refers to them as being a part of "Paul's habitual modes of thought and expression." Again, twenty-three occur in only two of Paul's epistles, twelve in only three, eighteen in only four, seven in five, six in six others, seven in seven others, four in eight, and only one in nine. Stated another way, of the 112 words, thirty-five occur in only one of Paul's epistles, fifty-eight in only two epistles, 70 in only three epistles, and eighty-four in only four of the ten works which Harrison allows as Pauline.

All these are included in his list, although his argument turns upon what he calls Paul's "habitual" usage. It does not appear how often a word must appear before its use could be called "habitual," but obviously these facts bear upon the argument and show that the critic is guilty of padding his evidence so that it will look more impressive and so that he can talk of "more than a hundred" such expressions as lacking.

Harrison himself realizes the seriousness of this fact. At another place in his argument he has a chart showing the average of words which occur in "at least five Pauline epistles" besides the Pastorals. If we take Harrison's own number five as the significant number, we are left with twenty-eight words out of the original 112! This is quite a reduction.

The scope of this article does not permit an analysis of these twenty-eight words. But analysis does further reduce the force of the number. For instance, several of these particles are associated with certain particular constructions and would not naturally occur unless Paul had had occasion to express this idea. Their absence is

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<sup>9</sup>*Op. Cit.*, p. 14.

therefore not important since it cannot be shown that the author would have expressed the word in a way different from Paul's usual way if he had had occasion to use it. For example, one of the particles is *an*. It occurs only twenty-five times in Paul, all but two in the "big four" epistles. (Luke has it fifty-six times.) Harrison includes it seven times where it is questionable in the text (lacking in Westcott-Hort) or is replaced by *ean*. The two uses which account for *an* in Paul are in indefinite constructions (e.g., relatives) and contrary-to-fact conditions, neither of which Paul has occasion to use in the Pastors! If Paul had no occasion to use *ho autos*, "the same," in these epistles, why should its absence be considered evidence against his authorship, simply because he happened to use it in other epistles? (The only time the ASV translates "same" is in II Tim. 2:2, where the Greek text reads *tauta* "these things.") This line of reasoning reduces even the twenty-eight words.

Harrison's total number of occurrences includes all the quotations from the Septuagint (where the style is not Paul's) and all the adaptations of the particle which suit his reasoning where the text is uncertain. It may be stated that in all the twenty-eight words we are dealing with not more than one or two words which are very frequent in the New Testament and which are really habitually engrained in Paul's usage. Besides Harrison mentions seventy-seven such particles used frequently by Paul which do occur in the Pastorals; these he dismisses by saying that they would be known also to the hypothetical author of the second century who he thinks wrote the spistle. But the conclusion is tenuous, and the presence of these particles ought to have as much weight as the absence of the others.

### A Test of the Method

There is no end to this type of discussion. The evidence can be interpreted either way and in a way which will seem conclusive to those whose presuppositions tend them in one direction or the other. Hence it would seem that a major contribution could be made to the discussion only by testing the method used.

Harrison claims that it is the "mass" of evidence, or what Easton calls the "cumulative effect" of the evidence, which is conclusive. Harrison says, "It is certain that nothing to approach this list can be produced in the case of any Pauline epistle." *It is precisely here that he is mistaken.* And seemingly he is mistaken because he has not tried to see if the same results are obtainable in the case of other groupings of Paul's epistles.

In an effort to test the method the Thessalonian epistles were chosen as being only slightly shorter than the Pastorals, as being first whereas the Pastorals are last in the Pauline corpus, and as being separated from the bulk of Paul's epistles by about the same amount

of time. A study conducted on the same order as Harrison's on the indeclinable words yields *precisely the same results in the case of the Thessalonian epistles as Harrison obtained*. The evidence is as follows.

Of Harrison's 112 "Pauline" words not in the Pastorals, *eighty-four* of them are also not in the Thessalonian epistles. (These are easily counted from his chart.) Harrison mentions that there are seventy-seven Pauline words of the same kind in the Pastorals. He does not present a chart of these, but a careful reading of the text yields a list of that approximate number. Now at least *thirty* of these are in both the Pastorals and at least one other letter of the Pauline corpus, but *are not in Thessalonians*. This totals 114. If one adopts a different hypothesis concerning the Pauline list from Harrison and assumes that Paul did not write the Thessalonian epistles, he has *one hundred and fourteen* Pauline words which would weigh against the Pauline authorship of them. This is, of course, two more than Harrison has for his theory against the Pauline authorship of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus!

Nor does the distribution differ greatly. Harrison (Cf. Diagram V) figures the average per page occurrence of his list as 8.9. His figures divided by the number of pages in the Westcott and Hort text actually yields 8.4. The list considered with reference to the Thessalonian epistles averages 6.1 per page which is a difference of only 1.3. Of the words which occur in as many as five books the total occurrences is 562, which will figure 5.0 per page when divided by the 111 pages of Westcott-Hort text in his thesis; in the thesis adopted toward the Thessalonian epistles the 114 words occur a total of 414 times. This divided by the 115 pages of the text for this hypothesis yields 3.6 times per page. Again this is a difference of only 1.4 per page.

These figures do not take into account the fact that the Thessalonian epistles are more similar to the main body of Paul's epistles in subject matter and tone than Timothy-Titus. Even particles are affected by the subject matter where there is more argumentation, resulting in a more hypotactic style. When the facts then are actually tested, they show that "just as good case can be made in the case of some Pauline epistles" using Harrison's method. The facts, then, demonstrate that the method proves nothing.

A chart is presented below of the thirty words with their frequency upon which this study was based. The other 84 words may be seen in Harrison's chart on pp. 36-7 of his book:

Pauline Particles, Prepositions, Pronouns, Etc., Wanting in the Thessalonian Epistles (Other Than Harrison's List)

	R	1C	2C	G	Eph	Phil	Col	Phile	1T	2T	Ti	Total	Books
1. kata (c gen)	3	3	3	3			1		1			14	6
2. peri (c acc)								1	3	2	1	7	4
3. poteros			1	1	1				1			4	4
4. meta (c acc)				2							1	4	4
5. protos	1	4			1	1			4	1		4	3
6. amen (W-H)	6	1	1	2	1	1			2	1		12	6
7. enopion	3	1	3	1					6	2		16	9
8. choris	6	2	2		1	1		1				16	6
9. hosautos	1	1							2		2	15	7
10. eita		1							4			8	4
11. kalos		3	1	2		1			2			3	2
12. eksothen		3							4			11	5
13. en tachei	1	1							1			2	2
14. seautou	6			2				1	1			2	2
15. malista				1		1		1	4	2	1	16	6
16.ontos		1		1				1	3	1	1	8	6
17. opiso						1			4			6	3
18. ekto	4	1							1			2	2
19. ei me	7	11	5	3	1	1			1			6	3
20. mechri	2			1	1	2			1	1		26	7
21. pro	1	2	1	3	1		1		1	2	1	8	6
22. pollakis	1		5			1	1			1		12	8
23. pleion		3	3			2				2		8	4
24. hemeteros	1											10	4
25. oudeis	3	18	7	8	1	3		1	3	1	1	3	3
26. charin (Adv.)			2	1	2				1	3		48	10
27. aei									1		2	6	4
28. ekei	2										1	3	2
29. hupo (c acc)	6	6		10	1		1				1	3	2
30. hosos	8	2	1	5		5	1		1	1		25	6
												24	8
											Total	328	



## BOOK REVIEW

**The Early Church: Studies in Early Christian History and Theology.**  
By Oscar Cullmann. Translated by A. J. B. Higgins and S. Godman. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1956. Pp. xii-217. \$4.50.

Oscar Cullmann has for thirty years been a teacher in Strasbourg, Paris, and Basle. Of his many publications in French and German, at least seven books have been translated into English: in 1949, **The Earliest Christian Confessions of Faith**; in 1950, **Baptism in the New Testament** and **Christ and Time**; in 1953 **Early Christian Worship** and **Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr**; in 1956, **The State in the New Testament** and the volume which is here being reviewed.

The presuppositions of Cullmann's studies are those of Protestant liberalism. This appears in the first essay of this collection, on "The Necessity and Function of Higher Criticism," which is an appraisal of modern indebtedness to the "higher critics" (Wellhausen, Loisy, Schweitzer, etc.). Cullmann finds it a "scandal" that there are four different narratives of the work of Christ which "do not agree with each other" (p. 10). He agrees with R. Bultmann that Paul's account of the Lord's Supper could not have been a special revelation, since "it clearly represents a more developed stage of the tradition than the parallel Synoptic accounts" (p. 64). Elsewhere (in an article in *Numen* I:2, May 1954, p. 132 f.) he states that the early Christians were not capable of distinguishing between myth and history—some myths were incorporated in the history of salvation (*histoire du salut*, *Helisgeschichte*) and hence cease to be "myths" for the Christian, others remain on the periphery as nothing but myth.

Among the theologians, however, Cullmann is recognized as an "orthodox" Protestant (see **Early Church**, p. 80, note 48). The leading thought of his book **Christ and Time**, which also dominates several essays of this volume, is a rejection of Bultmann's effort to strip off the mythology of the New Testament in an effort to find the "kernel" or essence of the Christian faith: for Cullman the essence of Christianity is the "history of salvation" which centers in the work of Jesus Christ. He chooses his proof-texts from all portions of the Bible, just as the orthodox have always done. He often insists on the basic unity of views among the various writers, where his critics find sharp diversity.

Two of the longest essays of this book (Chapters V and VI, pp. 105-162) are translations of booklets which preceded the writing of **Christ and Time**, and develop certain ideas basic to that work. "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament" was published in 1941, a German work of 48 pages; "The Return of Christ: the New Testament Hope" was a French work of 40 pages, appearing in 1943. Each of these had gone into three editions before being translated into English—a good indication of the popularity of Cullmann's writings in Europe. In the first of these he points out the Scriptures which assign to Christ, from the time of his resurrection,

all authority in heaven and on earth. He is at the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers being made subject to him. Yet in a more special sense is he the ruler of the church, for only Christians are aware of, and acknowledge his Lordship. The two spheres of his reign may be represented by two concentric circles, of which Christ is the center, the church the inner circle, while the world completes the outer circle (see **Christ and Time**, p. 188). The reign of Christ will continue until the end, when he will deliver up the kingdom to the Father, then the "reign of God" will commence. The church is identical in time with the kingdom of Christ, except that the former begins at Pentecost, the latter at the Ascension (**Early Church**, 116); the kingdom, however, is more extensive, including all things in heaven and earth. These include the "higher powers" of Rom. 13:1, which Cullmann takes to be angel-powers that direct course of worldly governments. On this point a number of scholars have taken issue with him, and the debate is summarized in an appendix (pp. 134-137).

In the essay on "The Return of Christ" Cullmann argues that this hope is essential to the gospel, being the completion of God's plan in time. As Christ was the mediator in creation, so he must be in the new creation, hence he must return to earth. The time of his return is unrevealed and uncertain. To be sure, it was proclaimed as near; a few passages even report Jesus as saying that it would come before his own generation should pass away. If the disciples were misled by such sayings, Cullmann thinks this a minor matter, while the important thing was that they were to live in constant expectation, remembering that already "it is the last hour" (pp. 153-155). The Lord will return to reign with his saints for a thousand years (p. 119), but this millennium, Cullmann states (p. 156), "is simply an image used to suggest the participation in the final act of those who belong to Christ." At that time "the present but invisible lordship of Christ will become visible."

The essay on "Tradition" first appeared as a tract of 54 pages in French in 1953, in German in 1954. Cullmann would distinguish the apostolic tradition which Christians are exhorted to hold fast (p. 63) from the church traditions which grew up in post-apostolic times. The apostles held a unique office in which they could have no successors, and the church was built on the foundation of apostles and prophets. By the time of Papias (about 150) it became clear that oral traditions about Jesus and the apostles were unreliable, and even fantastic, so that the church was compelled to collect the writings of the apostles and their inspired contemporaries as a norm and standard of Christian teaching. A vigorous reply was made by the French Jesuit scholar Danielou, and his arguments are now considered by Cullmann.

Six shorter essays remain. Chapter II reviews what is known about the origin of Christmas: the date of Christ's birth is unknown, and was not observed by the earliest Christians; January 6 was wide-

ly observed before the celebration of December 25 was adopted in the fourth century. Still, Cullmann concludes, "it is entirely in accordance with the faith of the New Testament to make the birth of Christ the object of a special church festival" (p. 34). In Chapter III we are told that the plurality of the Gospels was felt to be a stumbling block because of their difference in detail (pp. 10, 41). Hence an attempt was made to substitute a "harmony of the Gospels" for the four separate documents, but such attempts have always tended toward Docetic heresy (p. 50). Chapter VII discusses "The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body According to the New Testament." The Christian's body is now a temple of the Holy Spirit; the Spirit is also a pledge that it will one day be raised a "spiritual body," like that in which Christ was raised. Meanwhile the "proleptic" activity of the Spirit has been displayed in miracles of healing and resurrection, and in the transformation of our bodies as members of Christ (1 Cor. 6:15). Especially in the communion do we become one body in him; to partake unworthily may cause physical sickness and death (1 Cor. 11:30), so conversely only our unworthiness prevents miracles of healing and resurrection here and now (p. 171 f.). Chapter VIII (pp. 177-82), on "He that cometh after me," accepts the view that the fourth Gospel is concerned to refute the claims of a sect which took John the Baptist for the Messiah. Cullmann finds traces of the same polemic in the Synoptic tradition (p. 180). Chapter IX (pp. 185-192) discusses "Samaria and the Origins of the Christian Mission." It was Samaria which saw the actual beginnings of the Christian mission among non-Jews; the third and fourth Gospels are especially interested in the contacts of Jesus with the Samaritans. In John 4:31-38 Jesus is anticipating the future mission to the Samaritans, and indicates that others, not the apostles, are to begin that labor. These "others," Cullmann thinks (p. 190), are the Hellenists, especially Philip, whose work is reported in Acts 8.

The last essay on "Early Christianity and Civilization" (pp. 195-209) touches on the theme of world affirmation or world denial, discussed also in *Christ and Time* (pp. 211-213). There is no contradiction between the acceptance of the state, even a pagan state (Rom. 13) and its condemnation (Rev. 13): loyal obedience is due to rulers so long as they do not attack the Christian faith. The Gospel does not begin with a program of political or social reform, but with changing men's hearts. However, new forms of social life and culture did arise and grow within the church.

Cullmann's works can be criticized from many standpoints. The liberals find him much too orthodox, the conservative may find his "orthodoxy" inconsistent with his liberal view of Biblical criticism. Critics of either school may question his over-confident interpretations of difficult Biblical texts. His style is scholarly, vigorous, and readable, and the translators have done their work well. The popularity of his books is an encouraging indication of the world-wide interest in Biblical studies.

Dr. William Green



**The Pastoral Epistles.** The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary. By E. K. Simpson. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954. \$4.

The debate over the genuineness of Paul's epistles among modern scholars has largely resolved itself to the books of Ephesians and the so-called Pastoral epistles. The doubts over the other books have more or less dissipated with the re-establishment of the historicity of Luke's work.

Among modern commentators the tendency has been to write the pastoral epistles off as the work of a second century writer who used Paul's name in an effort to combat the heresy of Marcion (cir. 140 A.D.). This thesis was popularized by the work of N. P. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (1920), and is based largely upon the study of the linguistic differences in Paul's other epistles and the books of I and II Timothy and Titus. Modern commentaries which follow this line are those of B. S. Easton (*The Pastoral Epistles*, 1947), Martin Dibelius (Tubingen, 1931), E. F. Scott (in Moffatt Series, 1936), and the most recent by Fred Gealy in the *Interpreter's Bible*. The defense of the Pauline authorship will be found in the commentaries of Parry (*Cambridge Greek Testament*), Lock (*International Critical Commentary*), and of the Catholic author C. Spicq (in French).

E. K. Simpson's commentary is an able and refreshing defense of the traditional viewpoint of the origin of these epistles. It is relatively short (174 pp.), but the author has a happy facility of saying much in a few words. The treatment is by no means a restatement of what others have said about the interpretation of these books. The commentary demonstrates that the author brings a vast knowledge of linguistic experience and acquaintance with the task of examining the arguments of Paul as well as those of his critics. His treatment of the Latin influence in Paul's later life is most interesting. His many illustrations drawn from contemporary writers to illustrate uses of rare words in the epistles are most helpful.

As the title indicates, the commentary is based on the Greek text. It is aimed at those who have a working knowledge of Koine Greek. Others will find much help scattered through the work but will find the book, as a whole, very "heavy." It is another argument for the minister to hold on to his training in Greek, because the wealth of such a treasure house as this is locked up to those who do not do so.

J. W. Roberts.

## BOOK REPORT

### Pathway Books

Pathway Books is a new series produced by Eerdmans's Publishing Company with a view to implementing the message of the present-day "Neo-Fundamentalist Movement." The books sell for \$1.50 each and although short are very well done from a scholarly point of view and bring one up to date with reference to the problems studied.



## The Pattern of Authority

By

Bernard Ramm

This is one of the early volumes in the Pathway Series and was written by one of the best minds among the Neo-Fundamentalists, or what others would call leaders in "Intelligent" Conservatism. This group believes in the inspiration of Scripture and also believes that they are well able to reconcile Scripture with all recent scientific learning, and they are therefore taking the lead in Conservative thought at the present time. As this book itself shows, however, the major premise of revelation and authority among all these men is the "inner witness of the spirit." Yet they are quite adept at critical Bible study and interpretation. Although they apply themselves in a scholarly fashion and work hard at their interpretation—when it is all said and done, they throw it all away and rely on the old "direct-witness of the Holy Spirit" in their lives for certainty as to how they can know anything. The chapters of this book concern the Concept of Authority, the Principle and Pattern of Authority in Christianity, and a Critique of Some Competitive Systems. The competitive systems critically examined are Roman Catholicism, Liberalism, the recent Kerygmatic School, and Neo-Orthodoxy. Ramm's book is really a valuable contribution and would be a good thing for every gospel preacher to study. It not only sets forth the principle of authority of present-day Fundamentalism as the "inner witness of the spirit" in a very capable fashion but is the best thing that I have seen in print with reference to the problem of authority on Roman Catholicism and the various schools of Modernism.

The problem of authority is, of course, central in religion, and this book will enable the reader to see several systems set forth in bold relief within a few pages even of a short book.

J. D. Thomas, Abilene Christian College

Theodor H. Gaster, **The Dead Sea Scrolls in English Translation**, Doubleday Anchor Edition. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1956) 350 pp. 95c.

In this inexpensive edition of the paper bound Doubleday Anchor books, there has been made available to the reading public an excellent translation of the recently discovered Dead Sea documents from the ancient Qumran community, found in caves near the Dead Sea. Much scholarly controversy has arisen over these documents since their discovery in 1947 by an Arab boy. Some have claimed that here we have the community that produced John the Baptist and even influenced powerfully the message of Jesus. Others have claimed that this provides the explanation of the origin of Christianity. A number of books have been written endeavoring to assess the value and meaning of the documents. Some have been extreme, others more sober and scholarly. Now this translation enables one

to read these documents and assess their value for Biblical studies himself.

The translation is done by one of the leading Hebraists of the world, Dr. Theodor Gaster, of the faculty of Columbia University and Dropsie College. In his rendering of the documents into modern English, there has been preserved the character of the literary forms of the original, whether poetry or prose instruction. In addition, he has supplied a limited number of notes attached to the translations, with the promise of more copious notes to be supplied in a later work. Gaster has also included an excellent introduction to the scrolls, in which some of the main points of the controversy are evaluated in a sane manner, and the parallels as well as differences of New Testament teaching are set forth in such a way that one sees clearly the fact that Christianity cannot be thought of as an outgrowth of a community such as the Qumran community. The documents are divided into four sections: The Rules of the Brotherhood, containing those documents laying down the rules of the community; The Praise of God, containing hymns and psalms; The Word of God, containing commentaries on Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, as well as Psalm 37; and the eschatological documents. A number of interesting notes, an analytical index and concordance of scripture quotations and parallels round out the book. It is a basic source for studying the Qumran community, and the controversies that have arisen over these important manuscripts.

**F. F. Bruce, Commentary on the Book of Acts.** (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1955) 555 pp. \$6.00.

This is another in the new series of commentaries being published by Eerdmans under the general title, *The New Commentary on the New Testament*. It is also a sequel to Bruce's commentary on the Greek text of Acts, published three years prior, which we shall notice in the review below. This commentary is based on the English text, using the American Standard Version of 1901. It is designed for readers who do not bring a competence in New Testament Greek to their study, yet it has a most useful set of notes that prove very helpful to the Greek student. Professor Bruce is a distinguished member of the faculty of the University of Sheffield, England, and has already made a name for himself as the author of several valuable books, among them a church history of the early period entitled, *The Spreading Flame*. In addition, he is the able editor of the *Evangelical Quarterly*, a scholarly journal of conservative viewpoint theologically. He came to New Testament studies via the classics, which he uses to great advantage in his commentary. One striking thing about this commentary is the fact that it shows a wide acquaintance with the relevant literature both from the Continent and among English-speaking scholars concerning the book of Acts. Some of the most valuable points of the book are to be found



in these notes. While Bruce is theologically a modified Calvinist, he is a careful scholar who lets the text speak its message in the good tradition of scholarship. While there are places where one must seriously disagree with his conclusions, this is certainly one of the most satisfying commentaries on the Acts that we have read in recent years. The book is large enough to treat adequately the material, and the comments are based on paragraphs of the text. There is a devotional and a spiritual emphasis that does not impair the scholarly content of the book. The format is pleasing and the print is good. The price is reasonable for a book of such length. In our judgment, this is the best commentary to appear thus far in the Eerdmans's series.

F. F. Bruce, **The Acts of the Apostles.** (Chicago: Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, 1952) 491 pp. \$6.00.

This is Bruce's commentary on the Greek text of Acts, published prior to the English commentary. Professor Bruce states in the Preface of the book that he began the writing of this commentary in 1939, and he gives this work credit for effecting his change from classical studies to Biblical studies. This commentary is distinguished by a much fuller introduction to the Acts, discussing in scholarly fashion the questions of authorship, date, cononicity, text, the speeches and sources of Acts, and Luke as a historian. As might be judged, Luke is shown to be the author, and a high regard for his historical ability is defended. Also included in the introduction to the book is a chronological table for this period of history and a synopsis of the Acts. One of the most important features of this commentary is its attention to matters of textual variations in the book of Acts, which are more important than in any other book of the New Testament. The Western readings are particularly noted, and evaluated in the light of the most recent textual study. Also there is an important use of classical sources and parallels in language for the explanation of word usages. One important point to note in the commentary is that Bruce identifies the visit of Paul in Galatians 2 with the famine relief trip described in Acts 11:30. He also accepts the so-called South Galatian theory concerning the destiny of the Galatian letter. Thus Galatians becomes the earliest of Paul's extant letters on this consideration. He is following the lead of a number of modern students at this point. This work will naturally be much more valuable to the Greek students, since it deals so largely with the problems presented by the Greek text itself. It is much narrower in its appeal than the former book reviewed, yet for the student and scholar, it presents a veritable mine of important data. Bruce acknowledges a strong dependence upon the materials of the earlier Lake and Jackson, *Beginnings of Christianity*. For the average reader and preacher, this book would not prove as helpful as the commentary based on the English text.